

RELEASED IN FULL

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	EB-01	FBIE-00
	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	JUSE-00	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00
	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRME-01	DRL-09
	G-00	/039W					

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R 291532Z NOV 94  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0545  
INFO RWANDA COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 002373

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, KDEM, PINS, PHUM, RW  
SUBJECT: OPPOSITION MDR PARTY LASHES OUT AT RPF

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. PRIME MINISTER TWAGIRAMUNGU'S DEMOCRATIC  
REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT (MDR) LAMBASTED THE RPF IN A 32 PAGE  
MANIFESTO RELEASED LAST WEEK. THE DOCUMENT ACCUSES THE  
RPF/RPA OF NUMEROUS MISDEEDS AND DEMANDS A CLEAR  
STATEMENT ON RPF INTENTIONS VIS A VIS IMPLEMENTATION OF  
POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL REFORMS. THE RPF REMAINS  
THE DOMINANT POLITICAL FORCE IN RWANDA, BUT TWAGIRAMUNGU  
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AND HIS MDR FOLLOWERS ARE POSITIONING THEMSELVES AS A

COUNTERVAILING CENTRIST FORCE. WE ~~UNCLASSIFIED~~ EFFECT THE NATIONAL  
ASSEMBLY TO PROVIDE THE BATTLEFIELD. END SUMMARY.

3. THE MDR DOCUMENT HAS CREATED A PERCEPTIBLE STIR IN KIGALI. IT DIFFERS FROM MOST OTHER MANIFESTOS WE HAVE SEEN IN THAT IT CRITICIZES THE RPF AS MUCH AS THE FORMER GOR AND THE HUTU EXTREMIST PARTIES. THE INTRODUCTION OF THE DOCUMENT REFERS TO THE ARUSHA ACCORDS AND THE BODY OF FUNDAMENTAL LAW, OBSERVING THAT POLITICAL REALITIES MAY JUSTIFY THE REVISION OF THE FORMER, BUT ONLY WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE LATTER. IT CALLS FOR FULL AND FREE PARTICIPATION OF OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND CHALLENGES THE RPF TO PUBLICLY DECLARE WHETHER IT VIEWS THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT AS A TRANSITION BODY, OR THE BEGINNING OF THE "THIRD REPUBLIC". THIS INTRODUCTION CHARGES THAT "DICTATORSHIP AND NEPOTISM" ARE TAKING ROOT IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR.

4. THE FIRST OF THREE FOLLOWING SECTIONS ADDRESSES POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES AND OFFERS PRESCRIPTIONS FOR CHANGE. KEY POINTS FOLLOW.

-- SECURITY OF PERSON AND PRIVATE PROPERTY: THE DOCUMENT CITES REPRISALS, ARBITRARY ARREST, DISAPPEARANCES, DETENTION OF THE ACCUSED IN MILITARY (RATHER THAN PRISON) FACILITIES, AND CONFISCATION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY. IT CALLS FOR A STRONGER GENDARMERIE, SANCTIONS AGAINST THOSE NOW IN GOVERNMENT WHO HAVE ABUSED AUTHORITY, RESTITUTION OF PERSONAL PROPERTY, RESPECT FOR LAWS GOVERNING ARREST AND DETENTION, CREATION OF COMMUNAL COUNCILS TO IDENTIFY  
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THOSE WHO COMMITTED GENOCIDE, AND RAPID DEPLOYMENT OF UNAMIR AND UNHRC HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS IN ALL AREAS OF THE COUNTRY.

-- PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: THE DOCUMENT CRITICIZES THE NOMINATION OF CIVIL SERVANTS AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS, INCLUDING DIPLOMATS, ON POLITICAL AND PERSONAL GROUNDS. IT CALLS FOR OBJECTIVE HIRING PRACTICES, A PROFESSIONAL DIPLOMATIC CORPS, AND REINTEGRATION OF RETURNING CIVIL SERVANTS INTO THEIR OLD MINISTRIES, PLUS OTHER CIVIL

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-- THE RULE OF LAW: THE DOCUMENT CITES THE CONCENTRATION OF POWER IN THE EXECUTIVE AND CALLS FOR CHECKS AND BALANCES WITHIN THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM AND LEGISLATURE, STARTING WITH RESPECT FOR THE 1991 CONSTITUTION. IT CALLS FOR THE IMMEDIATE CREATION AND EMPOWERMENT OF A NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION.

-- NATIONAL RECONCILIATION: THE DOCUMENT DESCRIBES THE GENOCIDE AND CALLS FOR PALLIATIVE MEASURES TO BRING THE RWANDAN PEOPLE BACK TOGETHER: BROAD BASED GOVERNMENT, REFUGEE REPATRIATION, INCLUSION IN THE GOR OF THOSE IN EXILE NOT IMPLICATED IN THE GENOCIDE, INTEGRATION OF THE ARMY (WITH EX-FAR NOT INVOLVED AT ANY LEVEL IN THE KILLING), POLITICAL NEUTRALITY OF THE ARMY, IMMEDIATE JUDGEMENT OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MASSACRES, AND AN INVESTIGATION INTO "DOUBLE GENOCIDE", PRESUMABLY TO INCLUDE RPA TROOPS WHO COMMITTED EXACTIONS DURING AND AFTER THE WAR.

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5. THE SECOND SECTION OF THE DOCUMENT PROPOSES SOLUTIONS TO RWANDA'S ECONOMIC SITUATION, AND THE THIRD DEALS WITH SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ISSUES, MOST IMPORTANTLY THE REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES. IT CALLS ON THE GOVERNMENT TO CREATE SECURE CONDITIONS CONDUCIVE TO REFUGEE RETURN, ON UNAMIR TO DEPLOY THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY TO REASSURE RETURNEES, AND ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR ASSISTANCE IN REINTEGRATING RETURNEES AND SCREENING AND JUDGING THOSE WHO ARE GUILTY OF GENOCIDE. IT CALLS FOR THE GOR TO RESTITUTE THE GOODS AND LANDS OF RETURNING IDP'S TO CREATE CONFIDENCE IN REFUGEE CAMPS OUTSIDE OF RWANDA. THE THIRD SECTION CONCLUDES WITH PROPOSED PROGRAMS FOR ASSISTING WIDOWS AND ORPHANS, INCLUDING PROTECTION OF THEIR PROPERTY RIGHTS; RESTRUCTURING THE EDUCATION SYSTEM; AND MEDIA REFORMS THAT GUARANTEE FULL OPPOSITION ACCESS TO OFFICIAL MEDIA ORGANS.

6. COMMENT. THERE IS NOT A GREAT DEAL IN THIS DOCUMENT

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THAT HAS NOT BEEN SAID BEFORE. HOWEVER, IT IS  
INTERESTING BECAUSE FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE  
FORMATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT, THERE IS A SERIOUS,  
PUBLIC CHALLENGE TO THE FPR FROM WITHIN GOR RANKS. WE  
SEE THIS AS A FIRST STEP BY MODERATE HUTU ELEMENTS --

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TWAGIRAMUNGU AT THEIR HEAD -- TO CREATE A SECOND CENTER OF INTERNAL POWER IN OPPOSITION TO THE DOMINANCE OF THE RPF, AND BY EXTENSION THE TUTSI MINORITY. WE EXPECT

TWAGIRAMUNGU AND THE MDR TO TRY COALITION BUILDING IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AS THE NEXT STEP. DOUBLE GENOCIDE IS VERY STRONG LANGUAGE, BUT THUS FAR THE RPF/RPA HAS RESPONDED IN NEITHER WORD NOR DEED.

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WHITEHEAD

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